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Message Text

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 01135 01 OF 03 231406Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
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USMISSION BERLIN
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AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1135

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: HU, RO, BU, UR
SUBJ: TRANSYLVANIA, BESSARABIA, MACEDONIA: THE RECENT HISTORICAL RECORD
REFS: (A) BUDAPEST 768 (NOTAL), (B) BUDAPEST 767 (NOTAL), (C) BUDAPEST 583 (NOTAL), (D) BUCHAREST 952 (NOTAL), (E) BUDAPEST 415, (F) BUCHAREST 791 (NOTAL), (G) BUCHAREST 772 (NOTAL), (H) BUCHAREST 696 (NOTAL), (I) BUCHAREST 608 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY. SINCE QUESTIONS OF SINCERITY RAISED BY CURRENT SPATE OF HISTORICAL POLEMICS ARE BASICALLY UNANSWERABLE, WE SUGGEST LOOK AT RECENT HISTORICAL RECORD, AS COMPLEMENT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 01135 01 OF 03 231406Z

BUDAPEST'S FINE ANALYSES OF HUNGARIAN MOTIVES IN CURRENT

ROUND, IN WAKE OF ANDREI VISIT (REF A-C). RECORD SHOWS MOST RECENT CEAUSESCU FORAY (REF I) TO BE SUBSTANTIAL REPLY OF MAY 1966 SPEECH ASSERTING STRONGEST CLAIM YET TO BESSARABIA, AND CIRCUMSTANCES INCLUDED EVIDENCE THAT HUNGARIANS WERE PRESSING GOR

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

ON HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA, AS THEY ALSO
DID ON TWO SUBSEQUENT OCCASIONS, IN 1968 AND 1971,
WHEN ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE WAS AT
ITS MOST SPECTACULAR. 1966 UPSHOT WAS BREZHNEV
VISIT TO BUCHAREST AND HIGH-LEVEL MEETING OF
SOVIET/EE STATE AND PARTY CHIEFS WHICH DISAVOWED
TERRITORIAL CLAIMS. WE SUSPECT THIS RECORD IS
PRIMARY FACTOR PROMPTING ROMANIANS TO SEE SOVIET
HAND IN HUNGARIAN STATEMENTS ON TRANSYLVANIA (AND
BULGARIAN-YUGOSLAV POLEMICS IN MACEDONIA) AT TIME
WHEN BOOM OS OFF 1976 BILATERAL MINI-RECONCILIATION
WITH SOVIETS. WHAT UPSHOT WILL BE IN THIS CASE IS
HARD TO DISCERN: IMPROVEMENTS IN CONDITIONS FOR
MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA ARE CERTAINLY ONE
POSSIBILITY. BUT IT OCCURS TO US THAT HISTORICIST
ROMANIANS MAY BE SEEKING REPEAT OF 1966 MULTILATERALIZED
DISAVOWAL OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN AREA (CEAUSESCU'S
OWN 1976 DISAVOWAL WAS UNILATERAL), AND THAT THIS
LOGIC MAY HELP EXPLAIN MOVEMENT TOWARD HIGH-LEVEL
MEETING IN BUDAPEST (REF E) AND LAST WEEK'S SURPRISE
TRIP BY DOLANC TO ROMANIA. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY BUDAPEST'S FINE ASSESSMENTS OF HUNGARIAN
BACKGROUND AND MOTIVES IN RECENT PUBLIC EXCHANGES
ON TRANSYLVANIA, TOGETHER WITH KINDS OF STATEMENTS
WE HAVE BEEN HEARING FROM ROMANIAN EDITORS HERE
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PAGE 03 BUCHAR 01135 01 OF 03 231406Z

ON BOTH TRANSYLVANIA AND BEESARABIA, WILL RAISE
QUESTIONS OF SINCERITY ON ALL SIDES, EVEN IF
DEBATE PROCEEDS NO FURTHER IN PUBLIC IN WAKE OF RCP CC SECRETARY
ANDREI'S VISIT TO BUDAPEST (REF A). SPECIFICALLY,
BEYOND QUESTION OF WHO STARTED EXCHANGES ON WHICH
ISSUE, IT WILL BE ASKED WHETHER HUNGARIAN LEADER-
SHIP IS RESPONDING TO PRESSURE OF SIGNIFICANT
DOMESTIC "PUBLIC OPINION" OR DOING MOSCOW'S WORK IN
APPLYING PRESSURE ON ROMANIANS OVER TRANSYLVANIA;
WHETHER ROMANIANS ACTUALLY BELIEVE HUNGARIANS ARE
DOING MOSCOW'S WORK, OR ARE MERELY PRETENDING TO DO
SO FOR BENEFIT OF US AND OTHER WESTERN OFFICIALS;
AND WHETHER ROMANIANS ARE AGITATING BESSARABIAN
ISSUE BECAUSE THEY ARE ACTUALLY ANGRY ABOUT IT, OR
BECAUSE THEY FIND IT BEST (IF INDIRECT) INSTRUMENT
FOR CONVINCING SOVIETS TO MODERATE HUNGARIAN ENTHUSI-
ASM FOR RIGHTS OF MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA.

3. THESE ARE IMPORTANT, EVEN VITAL QUESTIONS,
BECAUSE THEY GO TO HEART OF POLITICKING CURRENTLY
UNDERWAY. IF WE HAD ACCESS TO REAL ANSWERS, USG
WOULD HAVE MUCH BETTER PICTURE OF SUBSTRUCTURE OF

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POLITICS IN THIS PART OF WORLD. DIFFICULTY, WE
THINK, IS THAT QUESTIONS ARE BASICALLY UNANSWERABLE,
INVOLVING AS THEY DO VARIETIES OF INTERESTS AND
MURKY PASSIONS IN EACH COUNTRY, AS WELL AS MATTERS
OF STATE AND PARTY POLICY WHICH CAN BE DISCUSSED
ONLY ELLIPTICALLY, IF AT ALL, WITH OUTSIDERS.
(SAME CAVEAT APPLY, IT SEEMS TO US, TO MACEDONIAN
ISSUE NOW BUBBLING UP AGAIN BETWEEN BULGARIA AND
YUGOSLAVIA.) IF INDIRECT ANALYSIS IS BEST AVAILABLE,
HOWEVER, IT MAY ALSO BE USEFUL TO CONSIDER SOME OF
HISTORICAL RECORD, AS COMPLEMENT TO BUDAPEST'S
CAREFUL SIFTING OF HUNGARIAN FACTORS. BEST RECORD
WE HAVE IS ROBERT KING'S 1973 "MINORITIES UNDER
COMMUNISM" PUBLISHED BY HARVARD.
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PAGE 04 BUCHAR 01135 01 OF 03 231406Z

4. COMPARISION OF CEAUSESCU'S SPEECHES OF MAY 7,
1966, AND JANUARY 24, 1978, SHOW LATEST FORAY TO
BE SUBSTANTIALLY A RECYCLING OF MAJOR STATEMENT MADE
ALMOST TWELVE YEARS AGO. 1966 SPEECH REMAINS
STRONGEST ASSERTION YET OF ROMANIAN CLAIM TO
BESSARABIA. IN NEITHER CASE IS BESSARABIA MEN-
TIONED; IN BOTH, FRAMEWORK IS OSTENSIBLY THEORETI-
CAL. AS HE DID JANUARY 24, BUT IN MORE DETAIL,
CEAUSESCU IN 1966 CONDEMNED INTERWAR ROMANIAN PARTY
RESOLUTIONS MADE AT COMINTERN BEHEST LABELLING

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PAGE 01 BUCHAR 01135 02 OF 03 231430Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1135

ROMANIA "TYPICAL MULTINATIONAL STATE" CREATED ON BASIS OF "OCCUPATION OF CERTAIN FOREIGN TERRITORIES." IN LATEST SPEECH HE ATTACKED THEORY THAT INTERWAR ROMANIA WAS "IMPERIALIST"STATE, BUT DIFFERENCE IS INSIGNIFICANT, AND POINT OBVIOUSLY THE SAME.

5. PRELUDE TO 1966 SPEECH INCLUDED NOT ONLY TWO YEARS OF HISTORICAL POLEMICS OVER BESSARABIA, BUT INDICATIONS THAT HUNGARY--"WITH SOVIET KNOWLEDGE IF NOT AT SOVIET REQUEST," AS KING PUTS IT--WAS PRESSURING ROMANIA ON QUESTION OF MAGYAR MINORITY IN TRANSYLVANIA. HUNGARIAN LEADERSHIP HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER MINORITY TO ROMANIANS AT VARIOUS TIMES CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 01135 02 OF 03 231430Z

SINCE 1959, "AND THERE WERE SOME REPORTS INEARLY 1966 THAT HUNGARIANS HAD AGAIN RAISED ISSUE WITH ROMANIANS."

6. NOT ONLY HAD HUNGARY (ACCORDING TO KING) BECOME MAJOR BLOC CRITIC OF ROMANIA'S INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY IN MID-1960'S, I.E., IMMEDIATE TIMEFRAME FOR MAY 1966 SPEECH, BUT PATTERN OF HUNGARIAN INTERVENTION AT CRITICAL STAGES IN DEVELOPMENT OF ROMANIAN FOREIGN POLICY INDEPENDENCE WAS REPEATED ON TWO SUBSEQUENT OCCASIONS: IMMEDIATELY AFTER CZECHSLOVAK INVASION, WHEN HUNGARIAN POLITBURO MEMBER AND NATIONALITIES EXPERT DEZSO NEMES VISITED BUCHAREST, AND ON JUNE 24, 1971, WHEN ZOLTAN KIMOCSIN RAISED TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITY ISSUE IN PUBLIC SPEECH VERY DAY CEAUSESCU RETURNED FROM HIS GROUND-BREAKING VISIT TO CHINA AND OTHER ASIAN COMMUNIST STATES.

7. IMMEDIATE UPSHOT OF CEAUSESCU'S 1966 SPEECH ON BESSARABIA WAS SUDDEN UNOFFICIAL VISIT OF BREZHNEV TO BUCHAREST AND, IN JULY 1966, CONFERENCE

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

OF WARSAW PACT PARTY FIRST SECRETARIES AND HEADS
OF GOVERNMENT IN WARSAW. QUESTION OF TERRITORIAL
CLAIMS WAS EXPLICITLY DISCUSSED IN CONFERENCE COM-
MUNIQUE, WHICH DECLARED THAT "ONE OF MAIN PRE-
REQUISITES FOR GUARANTEEING EUROPEAN SECURITY IS
INVIOLABILITY OF EXISTING FRONTIERS BETWEEN
EUROPEAN STATES," AND THAT WARSAW PACT MEMBERS
"HAVE NO TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN RELATION TO ANY
EUROPEAN STATE." MAIN POINT, AT THAT TIME, WAS
OBVIOUSLY GDR BORDERS WITH POLAND AND FRG, BUT
BESSARABIA AND TRANSYLVANIA COME UNDER SAME
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UMBRELLA.

8. PENULTIMATE ROUND IN BESSARABIAN MINUET, IN
1976, APPEARS ALSO TO HAVE BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY
ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN PULLING AND HAULING OVER
TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITY, AT LEAST IN SENSE THAT HUNGARIANS INFORMALLY
RAISED ISSUE WITH OTHER PARTIES AND GOVERNMENTS,
INCLUDING NORWAY, IN 1973-5. ON SPECIFIC ISSUE OF
BESSARABIA, IT WILL BE RECALLED, MONTHS OF HISTORI-
CAL SPLEEN CULMINATED IN MAY 1976 BUCHAREST VISIT
OF THEN CC SECRETARY KATUSHEV IN WHICH AGREEMENT
WAS REACHED TO DAMPEN POLEMICS; CEAUSESCU'S JUNE
1976 DECLARATION THAT ROMANIA HAS NO TERRITORIAL
PROBLEMS WITH ANY NEIGHBOR; AND HIS SURPRISE VISIT
THAT SUMMER TO SOVIET MOLDAVIA. AT THE TIME,
THESE MOVES TOGETHER CONSTITUTED ROMANIAN RETREAT,
FOR MOST OBSERVERS. IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT,
HOWEVER, THAT "ANY NEIGHBOR" INCLUDES HUNGARY, AS
FAR AS ROMANIANS ARE CONCERNED.

9. ALTHOUGH DENOUEMENT WAS MUFFLED, DAMPING DOWN OF
BESSARABIA POLEMICS APPEARS ALSO TO HAVE BEEN ACCOM-
PANIED BY MORE RESTRAINED HUNGARIAN APPROACH TO
TRANSYLVANIA, IN MID-1960'S AS IN MID-1970'S.

10. ROMANIANS ARE VERY, EVEN EXCESSIVELY, HIS-
TORICIST, AND WE SUSPECT THEIR REAL READING OF
CURRENT SITUATION IS BASED AT LEAST AS HEAVILY ON
HISTORICAL RECORD SKETCHED OUT ABOVE AS ON ANY
ASSESSMENT OF KADAR'S PERSONAL FEELINGS FOR CEAUSESCU OR
BY HIS SENSITIVITY TOHUNGARIAN PUBLIC OPINION, WHICH
THEY PROBABLY CONSIDER ABOUT ON PAR WITH THEIR OWN,
SO INDEPENDENT VARIABLE IN POLICY FORMATION. AS THEY
ALMOST CERTAINLY SEE IT, PRESSURE ON KADAR TO AGITATE
TRANSYLVANIAN MINORITY ISSUE IS STRONG AT ALL TIMES;
ONLY RESTRAINING HAND OF SOVIETS PREVENTS HIM FROM
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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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VENTING IT IN PUBLIC; IF HE DOES SO, THIS MEANS RESRAINING HAND HAS BEEN LIFTED FOR SOVIET POLICY PURPOSES; AND PROVEN WAS TO RESTORE IT IS TO REMIND SOVIETS OF THEIR OWN VULNERABILITY OF MINORITY ISSUE BY RAISING BESSARABIA. SOVIET POLICY PURPOSES MAY BE MULTIPLE, BUT CURRENT AGITATION COMES AT POINT IN TIME WHERE MINI-RECONCILIATION OF 1976 HAS CLEARLY PASSED ITS PEAK. "COINCIDENTALLY," MEAN-WHILE, MACEDONIAN DISPUTE AGAIN ARISES INTO PUBLIC DOMAIN IN SOUTH, WITH YUSOSLAV FRIENDS (AND EVEN-TUALLY THEMSELVES, WITH REGARD TO DOBROGEA ISSUE) ON ONE SIDE AND BULGARIANS, WHOM ROMANIANS CONSIDER EVEN MORE FAITHFUL SOVIET HENCHMEN THAN HUNGARIANS, ON OTHER. ROMANIANS FIND IT HARD TO BELIEVE IN COINCIDENCES OF THIS KIND WHEN THEY DEAL WITH SOVIETS; AS PARTY HISTORY DIRECTOR POPESCU-PUTURI PUT IT TO DCM FEBRUARY 2, DUTY OF POLICY-MAKERS IS "TO AVERT THE FORTUITOUS" (PREINTIMPINA INTIMPLATORUL).

11. WHAT UPSHOT WILL BE THIS TIME IS HARD TO SAY. AGAIN, WITH HISTORICAL TRACK RECORD IN MIND, THERE

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Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BUCHAREST 1135

SEEM TO BE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES. ROMANIAN-HUNGARIAN TENSION OVER MAGYAR MINORITY IN MID- AND LATE 1960'S WAS NOT ONLY ACCOMPANIED BY PUBLIC EXPRESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR RCP MINORITY POLICY FROM LOCAL MAGYAR NOTABLES, LIKE THOSE NOW BEGINNING TO APPEAR AGAIN IN ROMANIAN MEDIA, BUT WAS FOLLOWED BY SOME IMPROVEMENTS IN CONDITIONS FOR MINORITY. SUCH IMPROVEMENTS ARE CERTAINLY NOT BE BE RULED OUT AT PRESENT JUNCTURE. IF HUNGARIAN MOTIVE IS TO FORCE BETTER ROMANIAN IMPLEMENTATION OF JUNE 1977 KADAR-CEAUSESCU ACCORD, CURRENT POLEMICS (WHICH RAISE SPECTER OF DROIT DE REGARD, I.E., LEGITIMIZED INTER-FERENCE, FOR ROMANIANS) WILL PROBABLY NOT HELP, BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 BUCHAR 01135 03 OF 03 231440Z

THEY MAY, IF ONLY BY REINFORCING INCENTIVES TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS FOR MINORITIES IN OTHER AREAS. FINALLY, THREAT TO RESURRECT POLEMICS OVER BESSARABIA MAY CONCEIVABLY SERVE TO EXTRACT CONCESSIONS FROM SOVIETS.

12. IT OCCURS TO US, HOWEVER, THAT ROMANIANS WITH THEIR HISTORICIST BENT MAY BE SEEKING A CULIMINATION COMPARABLE TO THAT ACHIEVED IN 1966: A SOLEMN REITERA-TION, AT HIGH-LEVEL MEETING OF SOVIET/EE LEADERS, OF DISAVOWAL OF TERRITORIAL CLAIMS IN SOVIET/SE EUROPEAN AREA. CEAUSESCU'S JUNE 1976 DISAVOWAL WAS UNILATERAL, AND IT WOULD BE LOGICAL FOR GOR TO SEEK TO MULTI-LATERALIZE IT, WITH SOVIETS, HUNGARIANS AND BULGARIANS ON BOARD, AT A MOMENT WHEN HOPE OF EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO BALKANS IN BELGRADE DOCUMENT HAS DISAPPEARED, AND TRANSYLVANIA AND MACEDONIA ISSUES ARE BOTH HEATING UP. THIS LOGIC, AS WE SEE IT, MAY HELP EXPLAIN BOTH MOVEMENT TOWARD HIGH-LEVEL MEETING AT BUDAPEST (REF E) AND SURPRISING AND STILL INADEQUATELY EXPLAINED DOLANC VISIT TO ROMANIA LAST WEEK.
AGGREY

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